1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

634 162 561 231 The Sighirari of the Engidengi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidengi.

563 141 The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seure. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogwa. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naromuro, Ol ol Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il Kunono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose raison d'etre has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the counsels of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability: they have always realized that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Recapitulation.

646

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Purko and Loita divisions. The Council presided over by Senden also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown in these cases is due almost entirely to the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent.

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The Kikuyu element in the Masai Reserve.

The population of the Masai Reserve numbers not much more than 40,000 of whom the great majority are Masai, but which also includes a considerable number of pure or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent lives led by the Masai pastoralists possess considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either in their reserves or on alienated lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Masai have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To satisfy their ambitions of an idle life, migrations of individuals from Kikuyu to Masai country have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Masai Reserve therefore contains these scattered units, mainly among the divisions known as the Kaputiei and Il Dala Lekutuk.

698* 461 291

Masai aversion to agricultural labour.

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural instincts and industry and to discourage tendencies towards pastoralism. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when encountered by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with fair results into the system of such pastoral tribes as the Nandi and Lumbwa, but with the Masai it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Masai have shown no inclination to till the soil, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared at the instigation of Masai owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe.

698* 563

Work by Kikuyu in the Masai Reserve.

The increased activity in recruiting natives as porters for the Carrier Corps necessitated by the military situation in March and April, 1917, led to the emigration of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Masai Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to escaping enrolment, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Somalis and Masai. Colonel Ainsworth, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such evasion of their duties was highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Somalis, any system which admitted of Kikuyu working for Masai was open to the greatest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Kikuyu emigration to the Masai Reserve and elsewhere was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1917, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Resident Natives Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

Present policy in dealing with Kikuyu emigration.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted in the Masai Reserve of prosecuting all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence or circumcision rights to have become Masai, and of returning them to their own reserve. This policy applies to the cases of all those Kikuyu who have joined the Masai since the move from Laikipia. Efforts have also been made to register all Kikuyu who may be considered to have become Masai.

698* 791 643

The Paramount Chief.

An important step in the revision of the system of Masai administration was undertaken early in 1918, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the holder, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai should be abolished.

Seggi.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1911, Seggi was still a boy, and control over the Masai was exercised by the two regents, Ngorova and Legalishu. When Seggi came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in his capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an extended trial but proved himself to be totally unreliable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage: he was intemperate and untrustworthy: he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

*648 Turkana raid on Masai, June, 1912.

2. A large party of Turkana raided Kune, about forty miles north of Rumuruti, in June, 1912, and carried off cattle estimated by the District Commissioner to number 158 head. One Masai elder was killed. Fifty-eight of the cattle were recovered by the District Commissioner, Turkana. A patrol which toured Turkana at the beginning of 1913 captured from them a number of cattle, and one hundred head of the captured stock was reserved as compensation for the Masai. Owing, however, to an outbreak of disease, it became necessary to sell the remainder, and eventually, at the end of 1915, Rs. 3,621 were paid to the Masai, a further Rs. 1,500 being subsequently added in compensation for loss and as blood money.

*648 509 721 Raids on Samburu, June, 1912, October, 1912.

3. In June, 1912, the Samburu of the Embarta plains were raided by a small party of Masai. On the 28th of October, the Samburu in the same place were again raided by similar people. No trace of the stolen cattle was found, though it was reported on reliable information that they had been taken into the Southern Masai Reserve.

*648 563 Possible removal of Masai into German territory, July, 1912.

4. In July, 1912, a number of Masai Wandorobo living near the border were raided by German patrols and were forcibly removed with their stock across the border into German territory. A meeting was arranged between Herr Altmann, Imperial Secretary of Schirati District, and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo District, when the affair was investigated on the spot where the outrage was supposed to have been committed, but with no good results.

Further enquiries were made and the assistance of the German Governor was solicited, but the evidence obtained was inconclusive, and as it was stated that the Wandorobo in question had, until shortly before the incident, lived in German territory the matter was allowed to drop.

*648 579 [121] Raids on Meru and Kikuyu in Nyeri District, August and September, 1912.

5. On August 1st, 1912, the sub-district of Siguniа in the Nyeri District was raided, five men were killed and ninety head of cattle taken.

On September 5th, a trading party of Kikuyu were attacked at the Siki River on the Nyeri-Meru road. One Kikuyu youth was killed.

On September 20th and 22nd raids were attempted on Kikuyu kraals close to Nyeri.

Murder of two Kikuyu, September, 1912.

6. In September, 1912, two Kikuyu natives were murdered by the Masai near Lenana's old kraal some fifteen miles from Nairobi. Two Masai were arrested, convicted, and hung for the offence.

Friction with the Lumbwa, October, 1912.

7. In October, 1912, while the Masai move was in progress, a certain amount of friction was noticeable between the Masai and the natives from Lumbwa and Sotik and raids were reported from Ol-Orokuti and Norgunono. A patrol under Captain W. B. Brook operated in Sotik country along the Mara River to keep such raids in check.

Raids and murders towards the end of 1912.

8. Several isolated raids and murders which took place during the last few months of 1912 were traced to parties of unidentified warriors, believed to belong to the Purko and Loita divisions of the Masai who were then settled on the western boundary of the Southern Masai Reserve. Five such incidents were reported, namely:—

(1) The murder of two Lumbwa men and one woman on the south side of the Mara River close to Lemek Valley.

[121]

(2) An attempted theft, on the 16th of December, of forty head of cattle from Mr. Johnson's farm, during which attempt three Lumbwa were killed.

(3) An attempted theft in Uregi, a location in the South Kavirondo District, in the course of which one native of that location was killed. One of the natives implicated in this affair was a Purko, who alleged he had been accompanied by a Loita.

[121]

(4) A raid into German territory among natives known as Ngoroini, in the course of which fifty head of cattle were stolen and a woman and child were killed.

(5) An alleged theft of ten head of cattle from natives in German territory. This was probably the work of some other tribe.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told. The primal ancestor of the Masai was one Kidenoi, who lived at Donyo Egèrè (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home and wandered south. The people of the country, seeing him shaking something in a calabash, were so struck with admiration at the wonderful performance that they brought him women as a present. By these he had children, who, strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Moran had not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which the *savants* of civilized society would have given their beards to verify.

Meanwhile Moran practised with the spear, and killed innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with beating heart to the stories of daring cattle-raids and sanguinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to think of Moran trying to look dangerous, pursing his brow, and generally cultivating the fiendish. And really, I am told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lèon (boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moran had become a man, and was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moran was no longer a boy, he was an El-moran—a warrior. His father, who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a neighbouring settlement of Andorobbo—a clan who are despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood by the chase. After making the Andorobbo quake in their

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide, beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never *make* shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono. This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

These important acquisitions made, our hero now proceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military masher, ready for love or war.

And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maū, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [361] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 711 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *mserjsu*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3·4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1946, page 252.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. James at page 49 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 3.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 47 square miles (known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 635 to 674 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 54. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 14 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 282.

[3] Cmd 4556 (1934) page 185. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 4 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed at page 577 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

791 success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonal affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of laibon developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the laibon was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising laibonok, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any number of the Engidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakenya, murdered at Longido in 1939, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, however, numerous aliens, particularly Kikuyu, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Oruma (22) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Taiko (18) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying raiding medicine to the moran of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shongo, of the Ngorongoro Highland area. He is a Kikuyu, and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful laibon.

The third type, the acknowledged laibon of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one laibon, but Mbatian (9) had a fellow practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mako (10), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost in the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledged one laibon" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and preferably close relations of the deceased laibon. More distant relatives confine themselves to activities of the two inferior laibon types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, as there is only one ox-seizing ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan protect him with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the others and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognised thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds.

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lukumai sub-clan (*i.e.* the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *olobolosi elaputeng*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep.

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-seizing ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his cattle-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy.

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there. 761 763

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony. 764 [763]

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (sewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals. 766

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before. 768

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat. 769

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts *in loco parentis* (see Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock. 439

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

233 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's
232 own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either
[462] drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black-pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then
[413] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed against* the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far
[415] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

262 *Meat-feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat
527 being a staple article of diet. No man may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows:—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[531] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the
● [543] Wandorobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a fore-leg.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the feasters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule [illegible] to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

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Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [707]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warrior or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 224 564 [823]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough flesh side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [574] [812] [423] [811] [812] [438]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

(With Plates XIII-XV.)

By D. Stenna Fox.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185-202) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njampa and Ngorongoro, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I have about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the sections on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which them drive. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ee-gerai e-serrag'ap*, which means child of mud. (Sir Hollis, p. 311.)

438 D. Swann Fan.—*Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

634 The name of the main group 'Loodo-nongi' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loodo'Kidoto' because the former means "the blood-red buffaloes and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Il-pisio* (the clan) and *Enkishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 280, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oibeg or D-Leuiowa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Leuiowa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[631] Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Kiwo el Orooroo Onik (the black cobra ?), 'Laghoomoo el Amomi Sungai Onik (the thin black snake), D Dareero el Amomi Sero (the brown snake), D Sidaliso all snakes.

577 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Naivasi Nagura and D Ilili, west of the Rift valley. An adopted person is called O-Ariago. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his head of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he starts to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[634] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He could not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

941 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Kraal Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

13 Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Maasai FL13

Nandi E4Q
Tatoga FA26

THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES

INTRODUCTION

The Nilo-Hamitic peoples included in this volume form, in the main, two reasonably compact related groups: the Nandi, who live on the western edge of the Kenya highlands; and to the east of them, the Masai, whose land formerly stretched north and south for 400 miles along the Great Rift Valley. The Nandi-speaking tribes, homogeneous in culture, are derived from a common stock; and their culture has in many a good deal in common with that of the Masai. Interlocked through the highlands occupied by the Nandi and Masai are the scattered hordes of Dorobo, more commonly known as Dorobo or Wandorobo, the forest-dwelling hunters who preceded the present native inhabitants of Kenya Colony and northern Tanganyika Territory. The racial position of these Dorobo is uncertain: some people regard them (I believe erroneously) as early Nilo-Hamites, but since they have derived their present language and much of their culture from the Nandi, they are entitled to a place among the Nilo-Hamites.

The Tatog division of the Nandi group is separated from the rest of the Nandi speakers, and lies close to the edge of the southern Masai; these people are included with the Nilo-Hamites on the score of language alone, since at present there seems to be no evidence of physical or cultural connections between them and the rest of the Nandi group. The languages, however, are unmistakably related, and therefore justify their inclusion here.

The third group, described as "unclassified," has been included because the peoples embraced by it live on the fringe of the Nilo-Hamites and would otherwise have been left out of the Ethnographic Survey altogether; since they cannot be fitted into any East African group under any existing scheme of classification, the case appears to be considered that their appearance here is justifiable. The Iraqw and their neighbours are sometimes described as Hamitic; but this attribution is by no means certain, nor has it yet been possible to classify their languages in spite of the availability of material, and for the present they must be left as "unclassified." The Hadzapi are "bushmen"—small hunting people of the bush and the bushveld seem to be analogous to the Bushmanoids. There have a number of links with the Bushmen and Hottentots of South-West Africa; but they belong territorially to East Africa.

The majority of the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists practising (with the exception of the Pastoral Masai) a little agriculture, intensely conservative, devoted to their cattle, and regarding the rest of the world with contempt, a condition from which even now many of them are but slowly emerging. These characteristics help to explain much things on the absence of any spontaneous development of trade, and the lack of territory made among many of them by missionary efforts. To pre-European days they not only lay outside the slave trade, but largely controlled the ordinary coast trade in the highlands, Asians (when they are appear among them.

NOMENCLATURE

1. Name Group

There is no general term which is used by the people themselves to cover the whole Nandi-speaking group, but (1) all Dorobo call themselves Okiek, sing. Okiek, though they have no tribal names of their own; (2) the term Tatog[1] is a group name covering eight tribes of which the Barabaig are the largest.

[1] For the relationship of the Southern Nilo-Hamites to the other Nilo-Hamitic Peoples, see Ethnographic Survey, East Central Africa, Part IV.

[2] The reasons for choosing this term "Tatog" are given in my paper "The social institutions of the Dorobo," Anthropos, 1941, XXXVI, p. 1.

/12 cont./

In connection with the ecnatic view of the three Masai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated int. the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never submitted to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise commonly everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negroes and did not take Negroes into their community.

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Ill. 1. Three Masai women.

Therefore they have closely drew the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became mainmary. Them, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual

]. [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo —Amalyst]

18 Meeker--147 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1919 PL12 Masai PL12

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kimeri" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [983] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language; it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is er-

[563]

/115 cont./

/footnote 5 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El Lombwa blacksmiths also live among the Maasi blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El maasi ("ordinary Maasi," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rule error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El lemooss who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Maasi. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Maasi rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

Even the reputation that a few armourers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Kilgumo from Ol lenggo, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol lenggo people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el lemooss have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (el engoni) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight poles. In the center lies the hearth (el adolelaye). The smith makes his tools as well as his

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 F'LA Dorobo F'LA

nine amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Limiri* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Akhipish and Dalo-le-kwish Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes: thus, the Anjiru and Chakamaya clans say they are descended from the Sheko, the Akhendiko and Ashuru from the Kamba, the Anaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone inquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Masai, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Sheko, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Gingishiro and Ngumbo, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Masai country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Gingishiro, but I have met a native of Ngumbo whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Masai and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumbo are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Kuruti, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumbo of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, i.e., they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of exact people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District. Somali, Galla, Boranas, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty or seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabaig, Lakukuia, Sigiroi, and Kuhumumoni clans,† and they had settlements at Kyeri, Kairuthia, Kijabe, Pundo Mills, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Akhipish Masai occupied the Lukipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Kairuthia, the Kaputei in the Kidong Valley, and the Turoroto at Limiri. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare. The Loroma, a Kikuyu clan, and the Aruwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kikuyu mountain‡; the latter were Mundumu.§

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Ruigi (or, to give him his correct name, Kagori), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Limiri is said to be derived from N'kumuru wiri, my brown cousin. Tumuru is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Sagala, who have intermarried with the Digo, a subtribe of the Wa-Kamba, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Resident in the Kikuyu district the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Aruwa, who live on Mount Kere in Ukamba East district.

¶ By Mundumu the up-country natives often mean the cast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Mundumu call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Warra, sing. Wayia.

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birth-
place of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its
status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East
Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from
practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is
allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock.
In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and
saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole
ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were
as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by
gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these
devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into
like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for
cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the
Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their
herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take
cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping
upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape
the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down
trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see
blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into
the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire
will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men
of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by
family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants:
but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards
of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern
border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time
there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for
Cattle.

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12
Kenya FL1

cattle. The Kikuyu and Kamba have brought in the habit of eating ground maize. And so when a man of some other tribe asks a Masai elder if he may cultivate a patch of land, and offers in return to supply maize, the elder will often agree. The cultivator will clear his patch and grow a crop; next season, he will ask permission to bring his wife and family; soon his cooking-stones, his household goods, his thatched hut are installed; he is there, probably for ever. His daughters may grow up to marry Masai men. That is the way the Masai doom will overtake them—as a people, as a warrior race.

Some of these accepters, used to the cold, are creeping up into the Mau, burning the trees to make their *shambas* as they have done before in other places. Their actions are illegal, but there is no one to enforce the law and no one dares to do so. This country the Masai know to be theirs. If they agree to let people cultivate in the forest, who is the Government to gainsay them? Attempts to remove intruders might well be met by force, and that is a thing no Government dares to contemplate. It was an attempt to use force, after all, for the ultimate good of the people, that led to the Hola disaster. If the tenant were to be hurt, and the Masai to be angered, and a fracas to arise, denunciations of colonialist oppression and tyranny would thunder from the benches of the House of Commons and repercuss all through the Secretariat. So the Mau forests burn.

IV

From our camp on the Talek, a tributary of the Mara, Dr. Philip Glover showed us a little of a tsetse research project which combines the excitement of scientific discovery with that of tracking in the old-fashioned, footprint-in-the-sand way. A tough, enthusiastic and handsome young man called Jungle Smith, helped by several veterinary scouts, has cut traces in the bush to make a grid three miles square. Each trace has been cleared of vegetation so as to leave a path receptive to the footprints of animals.

Each morning, scouts patrol the grids with notebooks in which they enter every spoor they see. By about eleven o'clock